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[facing p. v(a)]

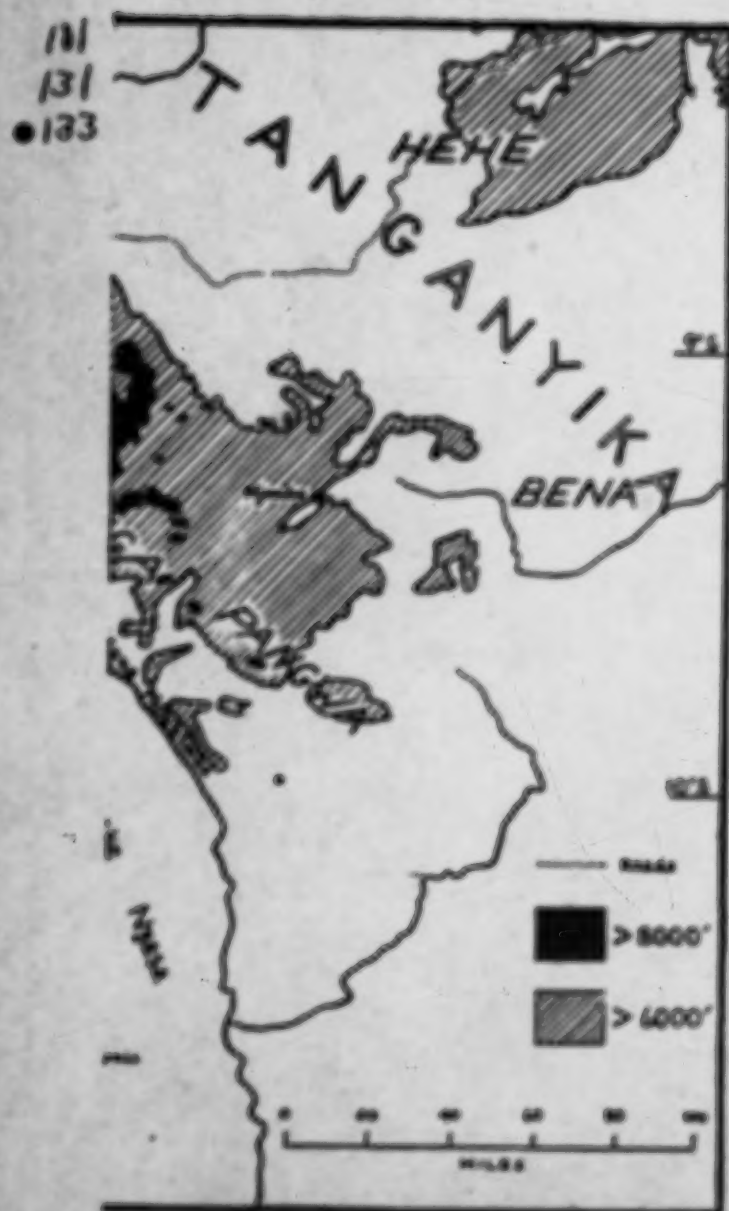


MAP I. THE CULTURAL AREA

the approximate area occupied by the Nyakyusa-Ngonde people and groups

[Facing p.v(N)]

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngondo FN17
Nyakyausa



Drawn by J. F. L. Smith

documented by them.

[Facing p v (c)]

INTRODUCTORY

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from the Inamwanga and Iwa to the north-west and the Henga to the south. The affinities of the Inamwanga and Iwa appear to be with the Mambwe,¹ while the Henga are an offshoot of the Tumbuka-Kamanga people who took refuge from the Ngoni in Ngonde.² Of the Phuka who live high up in the hills south-west of Ngonde we know almost nothing, except that they are skilled cultivators, and their language is closely related to Tumbuka.

The cultural group consisting of the Nyakyusa and Ngonde people, together with small groups in Rungwe district and Ngonde largely absorbed by them, and including the Nyakyusa immigrants in Mbeya district, probably numbers about a quarter of a million.

Of the more distant cultural affinities of this group we know nothing: there are no consistent similarities in culture between it and any other known group. The elaborate age-organization, and the great ceremony of handing over secular power to the next generation, which is held every thirty years or so, suggest East African connections, while the girls' puberty and marriage ceremony (*shungu*) is in many ways similar to the *ciwaga* ceremony of the Bemba,³ and the witchcraft beliefs are like those of the Azande⁴ and the Luvale.⁵

B. Environment and economy

The Nyakyusa-Ngonde country is fertile, well watered and, to European eyes, spectacularly beautiful, with its arc of high mountains and sparkling lakes. The Nyakyusa valley forms part of the

¹ F. F. R. Bellamy and L. A. Welton, 'The Nyasa-Tanganika Plains', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. XIII (1899); J. C. C. Cookson, 'The Native Tribes of North-Eastern Rhodesia, their Laws and Customs', *Royal Anthropological Institute, Occasional Paper*, No. 2, 1912; C. Colclough and H. Shenn, *The Great Plains of Northern Rhodesia* (1911).

² F. D. Lugard, *The Rise of our East African Empire* (1893), Vol. I, p. 25; M. Sanderson, 'Some Marriage Customs of the Wallinga, Nyanaland', *Journal of the African Society*, Vol. XXII (1922-23); T. Clifton Young, 'The Wallinga of North Nyanaland', *Journal of the African Society*, Vol. XXIII (1923-24); 'Tribal Immunities in Northern Nyanaland', *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LXIII (1923); 'Habits and Customs of the Olden Days among the Tumbuka-Kamanga People', *Beira Studies*, Vol. X (1926).

³ A. I. Richards, *Bantu Marriages and Present Economic Conditions*, *Rhodes-Livingstone Papers*, No. 4 (1927).

⁴ E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Sorcery and Magic among the Azande* (1927).

⁵ C. M. H. White, 'Witchcraft, Divination and Magic among the Balwale Tribes', *Africa*, Vol. XXVIII (1928), pp. 82-104.

- 133 Great Rift valley, walled in on the east by the Livingstone mountains, which rise to 10,000 feet, and on the west by the rather lower Ndali hills. It is blocked to the north-west by Rungwe volcano and the Poroto mountains; the volcano rises from the floor of the Rift to nearly 10,000 feet, and the lowest pass over the Poroto mountains is 8,000 feet. Scattered throughout the hills are a number of small lakes formed in the craters of old volcanoes, each one like a jewel set in the green of field and pasture.

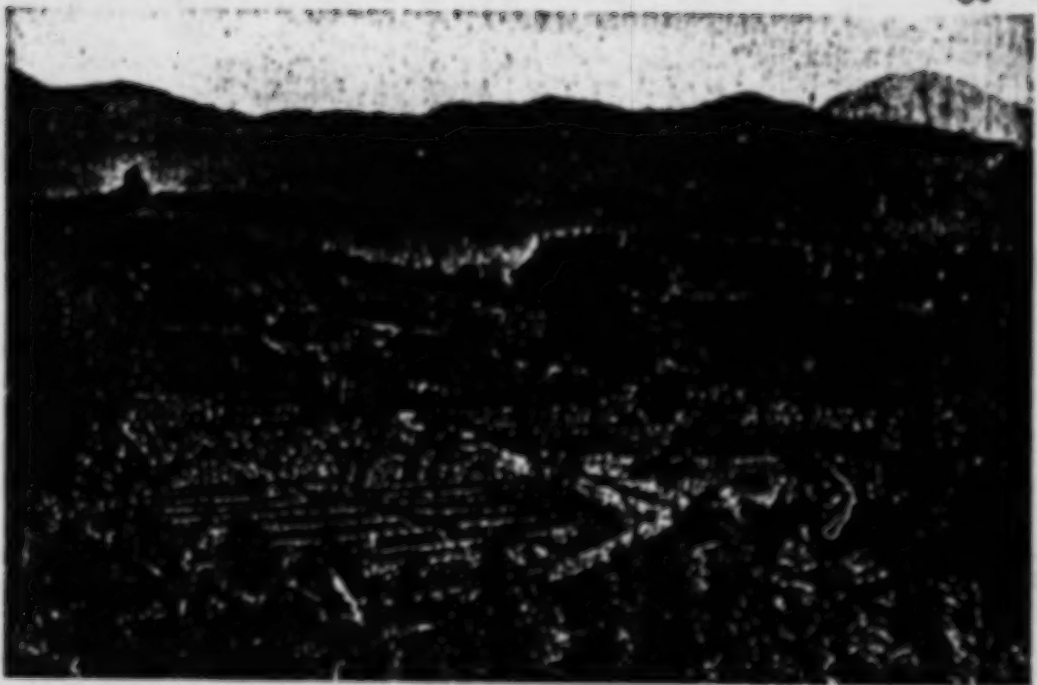
132 The rainfall in this valley is very heavy, averaging over 161 100 inches in the year, and innumerable streams rush down the mountain slopes, flooding parts of the plain during the torrential rains of March and April. The dry season is short—it scarcely exists in the hills—and such a rainfall, combined with skilful cultivation and stock-breeding, makes a large population possible. The average density for Rungwe district is over eighty persons to the square mile; the population is most concentrated on the Lake-shore plain, but stretches up into the hills to 6,000 feet. South of the Songwe the rainfall is much less—at Karonga it averages only 45 inches a year—and the country supports a smaller population, the average density for Ngonde being less than fifteen persons to the square mile.

244 The Nyakyusa grow a variety of crops of which the chief are bananas and plantains, finger millet, maize, cow-peas, coco-yams, cassava, sweet potatoes, ground-nuts, curcubits and, recently, rice and coffee. They also breed short-horned, humped, cattle which [234] are carefully stalled at night, and hand-dressed to keep them free from ticks. Banana plantations stretch mile upon mile through the plain and along the crests of the ridges.¹ In them are hidden the villages, often so close together that the boundaries between them are not obvious. On the fringes of the bananas are the tilled fields, and beyond the fields the open pasture land. Unlike most of their neighbours in Central Africa the Nyakyusa practise fixed, not shifting, cultivation, and the land is kept in good heart by green manuring, rotation of crops, and periodic fallows.² Only in the cultivation of finger millet, cow-peas, and pumpkins,

¹ J. F. Edmon, *The Lakes and Mountains of Eastern and Central Africa* (1879), pp. 330-1, and D. Kerr-Craw, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-6, comment on their great extent.

² According to the Nyakyusa themselves the productivity of their fields is slowly diminishing. Most of them attribute this to the neglect of traditional rituals. We do not know how far their observations are objective, and how far they are biased by the tendency to glorify the past. D. H. Thomson, in his article

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1. CULTIVATION IN NYAKUNDA COUNTRY

In the foreground are houses, coffee, and bananas; in the middle ridge for sweet potatoes and grounds for maize. On the extreme right banana columns appear. The house is a modern style, and raised for drainage.

[Facing p. 18]

The Land & the People 19

highlanders closely related to the Konde. Here, at Isoko, is another station of the Scottish Churches Mission. ¹³³₁₀₁ [797]

Eastwards of the Tukungu uplands lie the Kings Mountains, better known as the Livingstone Range, near the foot of which lies the Itete Station of the Scottish Churches Mission. From here one gets a view of lake and mountain, river and plain, which may well be regarded as one of the finest of the kind in Africa. The evening sun, shining upon the great mountain mass, reveals hundreds of crevices and folds in which lie tiny houses, beside waterfalls or rapidly dashing streams; while up to the summits stretch the wheat-fields, green or golden yellow in the evening light. At one's feet sleep the countless villages, banana hidden; and away in the distance Lake Nyasa reflects the last gleams of departing day. ¹³³ [797]

Over the mountains lies the country of the Kings people, a land indescribably rough and mountainous, but here and there well watered, with fertile valleys producing wheat, oats, peas, in abundance, besides the usual African products. Here the cold is so great that during part of the year many of the people sleep in pits hollowed out of the ground, and heated by fires which are extinguished at bed-time. ¹³³₁₀₁

Northwards the upland valley is bounded by the Igale Hills, from the top of which one looks to the lofty Mbeye Mountain, which from one point of view presents an astonishing likeness to Arthur's Seat and the Salisbury Crags at Edinburgh. Beyond Igale live the Sango and the Safwa, the former a vigorous

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- 133 and warlike tribe, the latter until recently their
101 oppressed subjects and slaves.

113 The earliest traditions go back to a time when the
Konde dwelt in Malongo, in the area now known as
[73] Mahenge. There their god Ngeketo, roused to wrath
by three attempts to destroy him, abandoned them,
and is now the God of the white men. Whether on
this account, or for some other reason, a great migra-
tion brought them to the country north of the
Songwe River, where they settled down, no doubt
conquering older inhabitants. At some unknown
time, but before the Angoni reached so far north in
their great march from Zululand, the Sango, neigh-
bours of the Konde northwards, were driven out of
their homes by intertribal warfare. They broke
down over the intervening mountains, and overcame
the unwarlike Konde, among whom they settled down
as chiefs, retaining until now the tradition of their
Sengo ancestry. Whether at the same or another
time, the Kings, probably for the same reason—
pressure from behind—swarmed down the steep
mountain passes, and established themselves in the
Nserya region.

One of the leading Kings chiefs was Mwangonde,
who, under the name of Chungu, occupied land at
Kabari, near the Mwakeleli Mission Station. His
son, Kyabara Changa, setting out with an armed
force in search of more fertile garden land, met with
varying fortunes, until he was finally obliged to cross
the Songwe into what later became Nyasaland. In
this region Changa seems to have made easy con-

The Spirit-Ridden Konde

CHAPTER I

The Land & the People

U NGONDE, as the Konde people call ¹³¹ their country, lies around the north end ¹⁴⁴ of Lake Nyasa. Northwards of that point it stretches for about fifty miles, and southwards for roughly the same distance. Like all their neighbours, the Konde belong to the great Bantu race, which occupies Africa from the Cape to the Congo, and beyond.

The lake shore plain is narrow, fertile, and populous, ¹³¹ with its centre at Karonga, where there is a British ¹³³ Magistrate, some trading stores, and a station of the Livingstone Mission of the United Free Church of ¹⁹⁷ Scotland. Beyond the plain the tribe, under various local names, reaches up into the mountains on both sides of the lake. Outside of Nyasaland, and northwards across the Songwe, it covers a large area in what was once German East Africa, but is now known as Tanganyika Territory. Here, too, the plain is hot, fertile, and populous as at Karonga. Northwards of the plain lie the healthy uplands of Mwamba and

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131 Bukukwe, culminating, so far as the peopled regions
133 are concerned, in Tukuyu, five thousand feet above
sea-level, the residence of the Administrative Officer
and his staff, with Post and Telegraph Offices, and a
large Government Hospital. Here also are many
small trading stores, conducted by Indians and
Somali; and a little to the south is the Kyimbila
[797] Station of the Scottish Churches Mission, carrying on
the work of the exiled German missionaries. Still
further to the south, and less elevated, is the British
military post of Masoko.

361 The population of these fertile and healthy high-
101 lands is dense. From Tukuyu or Kyimbila, looking
south and west, numerous villages, each hidden in its
banana grove, fill the view westwards to the Bundali
Hills, where the Kibira River is marked out by a
morning mist, and southwards towards the lake, thirty
miles distant. In this region the people call them-
selves Nyakyusa, with a number of local names
indicating no difference of origin or language. The
241 soil is so fertile, and the rain usually so abundant,
that in many places two crops are taken annually of
some foodstuffs, while of the others the single crop is
so great that scarcity, no uncommon occurrence in
some parts of Central Africa, is rarely experienced.

133 The Bundali Hills close in this happy valley (for in
101 spite of its elevation the country has the appearance
of a valley) on the west; and beyond them, after a
most exhausting march, over lofty summits, through
deep ravines threaded by bridgeless rivers, one comes
to the home of the Bundali, a race of hardy



IN THE KIMBA MOUNTAINS (LEVENSTOWN HADLO.)

The cold is so great during part of the year, that the people drop in pits, heated by fires which are extinguished at bedtime, and the openings carefully closed. Many of the little children crawling naked into the heavy morning air, die of pneumonia, and the pits are gradually being abandoned.

[Facing p. 208]

1. INTRODUCTION

Land everywhere is the basis of social life, that upon which men move and rest; it is both in itself the most important raw material of economic activity and the location of all other materials such as minerals, wood and water; it is a universal condition of human action, an object of human understanding and feeling. And everywhere the use of land is defined and limited by a system of tenure, a series of laws, moral rules and conventions without which no orderly life at all would be possible upon it. This paper is an attempt to describe in part one such system of land tenure, that which I found to obtain among the Nyakyusa, a Bantu people of South Tanganyika, during the years 1934-1936. [2]

I have here described in detail the land-rights of individuals only, both in relation to one another and to the villages and chiefdoms of which they are members, and have left the rights of these groups in relation to one another for a further publication.

The Nyakyusa system of land-tenure is determined by three main factors: firstly by the physical conditions of life in this part of Central Africa, that is by the nature of the soil and its topography, by the climate and by the density of the human population; secondly by the particular practical uses to which land is put and the techniques employed therein; and thirdly by the form of Nyakyusa society, the groups and relationships into which it is articulated. But in considering these three main determinants we shall have to take into account intellectual and emotional factors also, the understanding of their land which the Nyakyusa possess and their feelings about it.

2. PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

The Rungwe District of the Southern Highlands Province of Tanganyika, in which the Nyakyusa live, is situated some 9° south of the Equator and is a part of the Great Rift Valley formation. The country of the Nyakyusa is bounded on the south by Lake Nyasa and the Songwe river, on the east by the almost sheer wall of the Livingstone Mountains (which rise to 10,000 feet), and on the west by the lower Ndali hills which, although included in the same administrative district, are inhabited not by Nyakyusa but by two cultural groups closely related to them, the Ndali and the Lumbwa. [3]

The Nyakyusa live then between the two walls of the Rift, but their country is not itself all of an equal altitude. In the north the Rift is here interrupted and closed by the extinct Rungwe volcano (10,000 feet) from whose base (5,000 feet) the land drops for twenty-five miles in a cascade of hills and little plateaux to level out in a lake-shore plain fifteen or [33]

172 twenty miles from Lake Nyasa (3,300 feet). A little compact country,
113 included until very recently from any effective external contacts, slightly
over 1,000 square miles in extent.¹

172 The soil, particularly that of the higher ground in the north of the
134 Nyakyusa country, is not in itself very rich, but, as between 100 and 130
114 inches of rain usually fall each year, the district is one of the most fertile
[23] in the whole of Tanganyika; two crops a year are often grown on the same
patch of ground, and the African population is over eighty to the square
mile. There is no infected tsetse fly and cattle are the most prized
possession of the Nyakyusa.

634 For historical reasons, which we will discuss in a later section, the
Nyakyusa have never been united under any one paramount chief of their
own, but live in a number (nearly 100 at the present day) of tiny but
traditionally independent chiefdoms. For these chiefdoms the numerous
streams which run down from the north into Lake Nyasa and the crests
of the ridges of land between them, form natural boundaries.

133 The country, of course, is not all of equal economic value, parts of it
134 are stony and mountainous, other parts, and particularly the plain in the
south, consist of deep and level soil; and the population is heavier on the
plain than on the higher ground. Further, on the higher ground, there
exist numerous old volcanic craters filled with rich moist soil and these,
being more fertile than the surrounding land, are particularly valued by
[24] the Nyakyusa. Again, of the two chief economic crops of this district,
one, coffee, can only be grown on the higher ground while the other, rice,
can only be grown on or near the plain. And at every point their system
of land tenure is partially determined by such physical factors as these.

1. THE USES AND VALUE OF LAND

341 The Nyakyusa use their land for building on, for agriculture, for
pasture, for hunting and fishing; they collect firewood, reeds, thatching-
grass, mushrooms and other wild vegetables there; they draw water from
its streams and bathe daily in them; on their land they grow bananas,
bananas, *indipungu* 'taro' and coffee; they keep bees; they dance,
they fight, they walk and lie down upon it; their land is both the receptacle
of refuse and the location of religious ritual, while their doctors continually
wander over its surface in search of magical medicines.

Not all these uses of land give rise to laws, moral rules or conventions,
but only those uses which tend to lead men into conflict with one another
or into mutual embarrassment. The only reasons for the existence of

¹ The whole of Tanganyika District is 1,000 square miles, but this includes the hills
of the Ntali and Lomami as well.

² I have not been able to discover the historical names of this area.

128 as they do, in their behaviour and their mutual relationships to a common type. Space forbids such an undertaking here; and it is necessary to emphasise that, although the most significant facts are described in an orderly manner, and although certain reasons for these facts are indicated in their specific character and in their connections with one another, yet these reasons are not fully or systematically worked out, and the result is a description which leaves the facts only half-explained. And, in so far as this society is not here fully analysed, so it is not yet fully comparable with others. The reader of this paper will detect many points of similarity and of difference between Nyakyusa society and some other with which he is familiar, but the comparison cannot be made to yield any propositions about the nature of human societies in general until the facts of both have been fully explained in terms of their particular social, cultural, and external conditions.

Climate, Cultural Groups, and European Contact.

101 The Nyakyusa live in the Rungwe District of South Tanganyika in
 131 the Rift Valley at the head of Lake Nyasa. The valley is dominated and
 133 closed at its North end by the recently extinct Rungwe volcano, from
 whose foot the land, starting as an upland plateau 5,000 ft. above sea-level,
 tumbles southwards for twenty-five miles in a broken cascade of hills, to
 level out in a plain fifteen or twenty miles from Lake Nyasa. The Lake
 is 1200 ft. above the sea. The East wall of the Rift rises to 10,000 ft. or
 more in the peaks of the Livingstone Mountains, but the West wall is two
 or three thousand feet lower. The climate is very wet, for about 130" of
 [32] rain fall each year, and, at 9° South of the Equator, is also very hot.
 [16] The rain and the sun together make the land extremely fertile; the
 [73] district is thickly populated (over 100 to the square mile), famine is rare
 and the Nyakyusa are far better fed than most of their neighbours. Rice
 177 was introduced into the plain by Arabs, coffee by the German Missiona-
 241 ries in the hills, and these two crops to-day, under the enthusiastic care
 and guidance of the Government Agricultural Department, bring to
 many Nyakyusa a small but steadily increasing cash income.

262 Their main foods are bananas, maize, beans, sweet potatoes and a
 241 variety of greenstuffs, together with meat and curds from their cattle.
 Millet is extensively grown and is used both for making beer and for
 eating in the form of porridge.

101 The name Nyakyusa is nowadays used by themselves as a general
 name for all those who have similar speech and customs and who live in
 Tanganyika; but formerly it only covered those who live in the South of
 the district, in the plain and up in the hills as far North as the administra-

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959

FN17 Ngondo FN17

Nyakyusa

Kungu FN12

K
W
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Map 1. Country north of Lake Nyasa

[p. vii]

Dr. Wilson E.-S. (1934-1955) 1959

FM17 Ngunde FM17

Myabysan

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D. THE ROAD TO LWENSE

[Facing p. 15]

73 It is surprising to westerners, whose whole framework of
713 reference is shaped by the conception of historical time, that the
heroic myth is not more explicitly dated by the volcanic eruptions
known to have taken place near Lubaga,¹ but to the Nyakyusa
the sequence of events does not appear important except in so far
as it determines seniority.

[71] Nowadays, with the changing form of the society, there
develops a new mythology. Kyala is described by younger men
as a creator, apart and distinct from any hero or ancestor, and
they reject any suggestion that he was once on a footing with
Lwembe and Kyunga. The more conservative fit Christian names
into the heroic myth. One version goes as follows:

Kyala had two sons, Kyala the elder who was Mbasu or Satano, and
Kyala the younger who was Jwau. Kyala the younger made corn, and
cattle, and fire, and cooked meat, and men etc; then Mbasu or Satano
was furious because his younger brother was outdoing him, and killed
him, and became the only one.

Here the traditional theme of the jealousy of the senior is dominant,
but generally it is the power of the heroes over fertility,
under the old dispensation, that is stressed.

[71] Many people tell today of old prophecies concerning the
[71] coming of Europeans and of the triumph of a new religion. To
the Christians these provide some bridge between the past and
the present, for they interpret the words of pagan prophets as
evidence of their foreknowledge of a truth they had not yet been
taught.

• [71] ¹ D. A. Houston, 'The Severe Lava Flow, Kijjo, Rungwa District', *Tropenpflanzer* Nieuw
and Noord, September 1922, suggests that the most recent eruption in the district, that
of Kijjo, took place about 1880, but this conclusion is based on the description of the
eruption by an Arab, and the statement that his great grandfather witnessed it. That
some ancestor of Abdullah Kajjaji witnessed the eruption is likely, but had it taken
place only three generations ago it might be expected that other families also would
have had a tradition of the event. Kijjo is clearly visible from Masipapa's country and
had the eruption taken place early in the nineteenth century either the chief Mwasikile
(22) or his father Mwasikile (23) must have observed it. Their descendants are
emphatic that there is no tradition of their having done so, though it is commonly
known that an eruption of Kijjo occurred in the distant past.

Dr. Wilson E. S. (1934-1955) 1959

FN17 Ngando FN17
Nyakyaas

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[415]



3. WRADE HILL

[facing p. 22]

and try to understand the nature and reasons for change. Here, then, is a good opportunity for the study of social change - not only in land tenure as such, but also in village and family organization, political authority and economic life.

The Nyanya are a Bantu people inhabiting the main part of the Kanyo District in southern Tanganyika, immediately to the north of Lake Nyasa. In 1946 they numbered about 170,000 in that District, but about 25,000 men were probably at the time temporarily absent from their homes and in employment in the mines and towns of the Rhodesia and South Africa (see Gulliver, 1957), while about 20,000 had migrated to live in the adjacent Mfema District to the north.

The tribal area comprises a confused geographical basin surrounding the southern end of Lake Nyasa. It extends only about 40 miles from the tip of the lake at 1,300 feet above sea level to the Poroto Mountains in the north at 8,000 feet; and from east to west is only about 20 miles, from the almost sheer walls of the Livingstone Mountains (with peaks up to 10,000 feet) to the Ntali Highlands (rising to about 7,000 feet). There are therefore unusually large ecological differences within so small an area. Three major regions are to be distinguished: the "Northern Highlands" over about 4,500 feet, the low-lying "Lake Plains" in the south, and the "Central Region" in between. Everywhere rainfall is reliable and high, averaging at least 100 inches annually, and this amply compensates for a certain poverty and minus of the soil, although (and particularly in the Central Region) it brings dangers of soil erosion. Except in the highest parts the bottom is the staple food, supported by maize, beans, finger millet and groundnuts. In the Northern Highlands coffee has become well established as the principal cash crop; in the Lake Plains paddy rice cultivation provides both a food and a cash crop; in the Central Region the country is too low generally for coffee and too high and dry for rice; consequently cash-cropping is considerably inferior and the people's standard of living is rather poor.

The Nyanya and their country tended for a long time to be relatively isolated from the outside world by high mountain walls and rain-soaked roads. In addition, or because of it perhaps, they developed an almost unique culture which was supported by considerable conservatism and high insularity. They still continue to regard their African neighbours beyond the mountains as their social and cultural inferiors. The ferment of the slave-trade in Central Africa passed them by; in modern times they have not enthusiastically accepted Christianity and they have refused to take up the use of Swahili, the Territorial lingua franca. In recent years, and more especially since the end of World War II, they have, however, accepted and pushed forward with vigour a rapid and extensive economic development, involving particularly the production of coffee and paddy in cash crops, and large-scale labour migration to the south in the high-wage mining industries. The multiplicity of petty, often tiny, independent chiefdoms has been reorganised to provide four local government areas, each under a Rural Council, in which the old chiefdoms have become something like parishes. Although much of the old conservatism and narrow parochialism persists, yet there is now an atmosphere of accepted change, of a keen desire for economic development, and a general acceptance of a cash economy.

Probably the most significant feature of modern life in the Nyanya country is the increasing scarcity of land for agriculture in relation to the

1. In 1946, in the Northern Highlands, annual rainfall averaged 100.2 inches between 1919 and 1952; at 4,000 ft. in the Lake Plains, the average between 1940 and 1951 was 108.25 inches.
2. For a description of the history of the Nyanya, see Gulliver, 1957, and for a description of the Nyanya District, see Gulliver, 1957, and for a description of the Nyanya District, see Gulliver, 1957.

Census have never been taken.³¹¹ However in some sample villages I very roughly measured arable holdings, and my results provide new information even though they can be illustrative only of the modern situation.

In each of the eight villages chosen the arable holdings of all the adult male members (whether at home or away at work at the time) of the whole village, or occasionally of a distinct section of it, were measured by the simple and rough method of pacing the borders of every separate plot and converting the resultant figure into yards and then to acreage. The actual pacing was done entirely by myself in order to try to maintain an even stride on all occasions, but in each village I was well supported by a team of four or five villagers, always including the headman and his assistants. The figures obtained relate only to arable holdings and bear no direct relation either to crop yields or to non-arable land in the villages concerned. The results are summarized in Table III below.

TABLE III
ARABLE HOLDINGS IN EIGHT VILLAGES

Village and chiefdom	No. of adult males	Average holding in acres	No. of men holding more than—		Average size of plots in acres
			1 acre	1/2 acre	
Karaga	—	—	—	—	—
Mwankapula	39	0.2	11	1	0.1
Kala Mwankapula	48	0.2	13	1	0.1
Mwankapula	36	0.2	4	1	0.1
Lagamba Karaga	38	0.2	1	1	0.1
Mwankapula	—	—	—	—	—
Mwankapula	41	0.2	1	1	0.1
Karaga	48	0.2	1	1	0.1
Karaga Mwankapula	11	0.2	1	1	0.1
Karaga Mwankapula	18	0.2	1	1	0.1
Total		0.2	21	1	0.1

From this Table it can be seen that in the chiefdoms of Karaga and Mwankapula, in the villages concerned, the average holding per man was about one and a half acres - and my impression was that in the southern parts of Lagamba's chiefdom and elsewhere immediately surrounding the lake shore similar conditions existed. It may be noted too that in these areas there were large numbers of young men without holdings at all. On the other hand, in the selected villages in the chiefdoms of Mwankapula and Mwankapula, the average holdings were about twice as large - three acres; and fewer young men were landless. Note also the case of the village in the chiefdom of Mwankapula and Mwankapula in the more northerly parts of the Lake Plains, where the average holdings were one and 1/2 acres respectively, and where yet there was arable land unused and available. In these parts paddy cultivation is very limited because of the higher and hilly country, and the people remain little more than subsistence farmers - perhaps they may be taken as not unlike the traditional, pre-European subsistence cultivators.

Unfortunately I am unable to relate these figures of arable holdings to the total land available in each village, for this would have required survey work beyond my competence. Non-arable land is utilized for village sites with banana groves, roads and paths, pasturage, etc.; but the position is further complicated by varying amounts of unusable land in my sample villages. To give only two examples: within the boundaries of Mpungu village, Mwankapula's chiefdom, there are many acres of land adjacent to the Mfaka river which today are unusable because of deep flooding from

1. Population figures of my land are not available even for the separate chiefdoms, let alone for subgroups.

2. These approximate figures are influenced by the accompanying sketch map.

the river in season during the wet season, although here and there a few plots are cultivated on slightly raised ground. Similarly in Kapugi village, Koroso's chiefdom, some parts are heavily inundated by the Kivira river. In both these cases flooding has made unusable ground which was cultivated and even built on a generation ago; the degree of annual flooding seems to be decreasing again now so that very slowly a certain amount of new land is becoming available. This cyclical change appears to be directly connected with the long-term rise and fall of the level of Lake Nyasa. On the other hand, in more fortunate villages such as Ikolo, Mwakyusa's chiefdom, and Kapugi, Mwanamangala's chiefdom, there is rather more common pasturage remaining, and village sites, paths, etc., are noticeably less restricted.

The following arithmetical observations may be noted as permitting, perhaps, some guide to population densities in the Lake Plains:-

Persons per sq. mile	Total average per family of five	Arable holding per family of five if proportion of total land under arable holdings is:-	
		one-third	two-fifths
300	16.7	4.2	4.2
400	8	3.2	3.2
500	6.4	2.4	2.4
600	5.3	2.0	2.0

(N.B. The statistically average family is composed of five people)

It has been suggested by the Agricultural Field Officer, Tukuyu, that for the whole of Rungwe District perhaps 30 per cent. of all land is under cultivation. He was not prepared to place any reliance on this figure, and certainly for the Lake Plains it must be higher.

To summarise my own tentative conclusions and in order to obtain some kind of picture of the current land situation, I suggest the following division into regions:-

A. The food plains proper

1. Very high-density region - the arable land available under present conditions amounts to about 1½-2 acres per adult male and the local density of population is probably in the region of 500 persons per square mile; - in most of the chiefdoms of Mwanamangala, Koroso and Lazarus, the south-eastern part of Mwakipende's and the eastern part of Mwakyusa's chiefdoms.

2. High-density region - there is available about 3 acres of arable land per adult male and the local density of population is between 300 and 400 persons per square mile; - in the chiefdoms of Mwanamangala, Mwanipile and Mwakilima, the southern part of Mwakilima's, the centre of Mwakyusa's and much of Mwandemela's chiefdoms.

B. The remainder of the Lake Plains (Ntsebe)

3. Low-density region - here there remains much vacant land (some usable, some scarcely usable) and population density is probably little over 100 persons per square mile, and even lower than that in the most northerly parts; - the northern, higher areas comprising the north of Mwakyusa's (Mwinda's) chiefdom, the remainder of Mwandemela's, the whole of Mwanipile's, Mwakatundu's and Mwakipende's chiefdoms, together with the northern part of Mwakipende's and of Mwakilima's chiefdoms.

This summary description is, and can be, only very approximate, taking no account of the complexity of local variations to be seen on the ground. It is illustrated in the accompanying sketch-map.

It may be emphasised that in the two high-density regions practically all available land is in use. In the "high-density region" (No. 2 above) it may be possible to reduce slightly the non-productive areas taken up by village sites, but nowhere will this be easy or even desirable, and already most of the vacant spaces between houses are packed with banana groves, small

[P:936A]

WANYAKYUSA

~~Wanyakya~~
Wanyakya, Wanyakya, Wanyakya

- 131 The Wanyakya occupy the District of
Kangwa in the Southern Highlands Province.
The district lies between 9° and 9½° S. latitude
at the northern tip of Lake Nyasa. The altitude
● 133 ranges from 1,500 feet to 9,500 feet. The
631 district is divided into twelve chiefdoms. The
Administrative Headquarters are at Tukuyu,
which was known before the British occupation
as New Langensberg.

Indigeneity

- 101 The local people are not indigenous to this
area. They came, tradition has it, from
[173] Malunga via Ukinga after many tribal fights.
They are akin to the Wabunga in Nyasaland
bordering on the Tanganyika boundary. It is
141 estimated that only 10 per cent of the Wanyakya
161 speak Kiwaha. According to the 1915
162 census the total population was 153,204. The
total number of tax-payers in 1942 was 25,304,
or 23.04 per cent of the total population.

- 181 The people themselves are extremely in-
dustrious and intelligent. As there are 90
people to the square mile, living conditions are
105 crowded and emigration is continually taking
place. The people are partial to litigation over
cattle and women. The number of cases heard
annually in the Native Courts is about 6,000.
There is no one historical and traditional head
of the tribe. The twelve Chiefs are, in reality,
hereditary Headmen who have been selected
by Government to be Chiefs. They are in
effect only *primi inter pares* in native eyes, the
outlook of the people being unusually demo-
cratic for a native tribe.

- 105 The people live in houses made of wattle
and daub or bamboo frame, with thatched
242 roof, and villages are sited mostly along ridges.
241 Rectangular houses are now built instead of
the round huts of former days. They often
stand in rows with a main street down the
middle with bananas in the background. The
more progressive natives build with sun-dried
or burnt brick. Stock are stalled in the same
house owing to the prevalence of thieving, but
sleep in separate rooms.

Climate

- 132 The rainfall of the district varies in the
different areas. In Tukuyu itself the annual
average for 25 years (1918-1942) is 100.22
inches. On the Lake shore the average is
probably higher, but no continuous statistics
are available. The heaviest rainfall months are
from December to May, but, in most years,

[1936B]

WANYAKYUSA AGRICULTURE

By E. E. Schuchman, Ph.D., Agricultural
Assistant, Tanganyika Territory

- [132] some rain falls every month in the part north of Tukuva. Very heavy rains occur at times, such as in 1935 when 170 inches are recorded on the lake shore in the month of April. In November, 1942, 124 inches fell in eighteen hours in Tukuva. The average mean temperature for Tukuva is 23.66°C. The range is low while monthly variation average is only 3.4°C.

Soils and Vegetation

- [134] The district may be divided into three sections according to soil and vegetation types. The higher altitudes to the north are dominated geologically by the extinct volcanic range extending round Rungwe Mountain. The dark soil, composed of decaying vegetable matter overlying volcanic ash in varying layers, is, generally speaking, fairly fertile, depending on the age of the subsoil. The vegetation is dominated by rain forest, though much of this has been destroyed. Grass (*Hyparrhenia* spp., *Digitaria horismoides*, *Isaria*) and *Cenchrus* spp., with high *Sesbania* and *Dioscorea* shrubs on the slopes of the mountain range, are found with *Millettia*, *Ficus* and *Cinnam* spp., and occasional stiffles of bamboo on the hill sides and in the river beds and ravines. To the west of Tukuva, woodlands of *Brachyotopia*, associated with *Albizia* and *Parkia* spp., cover such areas as are not cultivated and where the grasses (*Hyparrhenia* and *Digitaria* spp.) can only be burnt during October owing to the wet climate.

- [134] In the medium altitudes south of Tukuva, the soil is a red clay loam, derived from granite with intrusions of dolerite, diorite, basalt and quartz. It is in the area of these soils that hot springs, lime, coal and mica occur. This part is heavily wooded with *Brachyotopia* associated with *Albizia*, *Dalbergia*, *Ficus*, *Cinnam* spp. and *Chlorophora excelsa*, but is at present being gradually cut out to make room for cultivation. No forests of economic value occur, except for fuel, small quantities of wild rubber vine, *Landolphia* spp., which have become of value in wartime, and some pockets of *Adina microcephala*. Dominant grasses are *Imperata cylindrica*, *Digitaria*, and *Hyparrhenia* spp.

- [134] The lower altitudes below 2,000 feet are situated in a wide plain along the northern and western shores of Lake Nyasa, and this is composed of soils mostly transported from the highlands. These are extremely fertile. The subsoil is granitic and the top soil varies greatly in thickness.